

JULY 2, 1976

THE SOVIET UNION AND COMMUNIST DIVERSITY

ANNCR: VOA NEWS ANALYST JOHN ALBERT LOOKS AT THE EAST BERLIN SUMMIT MEETING IN TERMS OF THE SOVIET UNION'S FUTURE RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER COMMUNIST PARTIES:

VOICE: IF WE COMPARE THE RESULTS OF THE EAST BERLIN CONGRESS OF TWENTY-NINE COMMUNIST PARTIES WITH THE ORIGINAL INTENTIONS OF GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV, WHEN THE IDEA WAS PUT FORTH ALMOST TWO YEARS AGO, IT IS OBVIOUS THAT MOSCOW HAD TO MAKE MAJOR CONCESSIONS TO MAKE THE MEETING POSSIBLE. FROM THEIR POINT OF VIEW, COMMUNIST LEADERS IN YUGOSLAVIA AND ROMANIA, AND EVEN MORE SO IN ITALY, FRANCE AND OTHER WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, CAN JUSTIFIEDLY CLAIM THAT AFTER THIS CONFERENCE THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT WILL NEVER AGAIN BE THE SAME.

HOWEVER, IF WE LOOK AT MATTERS FROM A SOVIET VANTAGE POINT, THE CHANGES ARE LESS IMPRESSIVE OR FAR-REACHING. MISTER BREZHNEV, IT CAN BE ARGUED, HAS ONLY PUBLICLY ACKNOWLEDGED WHAT HAS EXISTED IN REALITY FOR QUITE SOME TIME. HE HAS PLEDGED HIMSELF TO "COMRADELY AND VOLUNTARY COOPERATION AND SOLIDARITY" WITH THE OTHER COMMUNIST PARTIES AND TO FULL RESPECT FOR THE INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY OF ALL NATIONS. THIS LANGUAGE IN THE BERLIN DOCUMENT SOUNDS QUITE SIMILAR TO THAT OF THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE. AND IT IS AS LITTLE LEGALLY BINDING ON ANYONE AS ARE THE HELSINKI ACCORDS.

GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV AGREED TO DROP THE EXPRESSION, "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" FROM THE BERLIN DOCUMENT, BUT HE HAS IN NO WAY GIVEN UP HIS THESIS THAT, IN HIS EYES, IT REMAINS FULLY RELEVANT FOR MOSCOW'S RELATIONS WITH EASTERN EUROPE. HE NOW REFERS TO A STRUGGLE FOR COMMON GOALS, BUT THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT MOSCOW INTENDS TO RELAX ITS IDEOLOGICAL PRESSURE

ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA, EAST GERMANY, POLAND AND BULGARIA WHICH ALSO CLOSELY SUPPORTED THE OLD SOVIET LINE AT THE EAST BERLIN CONFERENCE. MOSCOW MAY NO LONGER BE ABLE TO CLAIM ITSELF AS THE INFALLIBLE LEADER OF A WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, AND IT MAY MAKE SPECIAL ALLOWANCES FOR COMMUNIST PARTIES IN WESTERN EUROPE, BUT IT SHOWS NO SIGNS OF RELINQUISHING ITS INFLUENCE WHERE IT STILL DOMINATES OR, FOR THAT MATTER, WITHDRAWING ITS TROOPS STILL STATIONED IN VARIOUS EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

(OPT) MISTER BREZHNEV HAD MUCH TO SAY IN PRAISE OF WHAT HE REGARDS AS SUBSTANTIAL SOVIET COMPLIANCE WITH THE HELSINKI ACCORDS. INDEPENDENT WESTERN STUDIES HAVE NOT BORNE OUT HIS CONTENTION. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN HOW MUCH THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP WILL FEEL BOUND BY THE PAPER PLEDGES OF EAST BERLIN. (END OPT)

THE SOVIET LEADER POINTEDLY WARNED THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF WESTERN EUROPE THAT IN THEIR STRUGGLES AGAINST " REACTIONARY IMPERIALIST CIRCLES"-- IN WHICH THEY WORK TOGETHER WITH NON-COMMUNIST PARTIES-- THEY SHOULD NEVER FORGET THAT THEY MUST REMAIN REVOLUTIONARIES. "IT IS TO THE SOLUTION OF THIS HISTORICAL TASK-- THE REPLACEMENT OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM-- HE SAYS-- THAT THEY SUBORDINATE ALL THEIR ACTIVITIES." IN OTHER WORDS, THE SOVIET LEADER APPEARS READY TO ACCEPT DIVERSITY, IF IT IS ANOTHER ROAD TO THE COMMON GOAL. (OPT) AS THE " NEW YORK TIMES" PUTS IT IN AN EDITORIAL, " MISTER BREZHNEV'S CONVERSION IS QUESTIONABLE." AND THE BALTIMORE SUN SAYS, " THE RUSSIANS WILL FORGET THE COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE OF EVERY COMMUNIST PARTY, WHEN DEALING WITH THE PARTIES OF EAST GERMANY, POLAND, HUNGARY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND BULGARIA." (END OPT)

HOWEVER, WHATEVER WESTERN OBSERVERS MAY THINK ABOUT THE SOVIET LEADER'S MENTAL RESERVATIONS AS HE ACCEPTED THE EAST BERLIN DOCUMENT, AMERICAN LEADERS HAVE EVERY INTENTION OF TREATING THE COUNTRIES OF

EASTERN EUROPE AS FULLY INDEPENDENT AND SOVIEIGN IN THEIR AFFAIRS. SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER UNDERLINED THIS ATTITUDE IN HIS RECENT LONDON SPEECH." THE UNITED STATES," HE SAID, "IS DETERMINED TO DEAL WITH EASTERN EUROPE ON THE BASIS OF THE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE OF EACH OF ITS COUNTRIES. WE RECOGNIZE NO SPHERES OF INFLUENCE," THE SECRETARY ADDED," AND NO PRETENSIONS TO HEGEMONY." (OPT) THE UNITED STATES FOLLOWED THIS COURSE EVEN BEFORE THE HELSINKI ACCORD SPECIFICALLY UNDERLINED THE SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OF ALL NATIONS, AND IT WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO, (END OPT)